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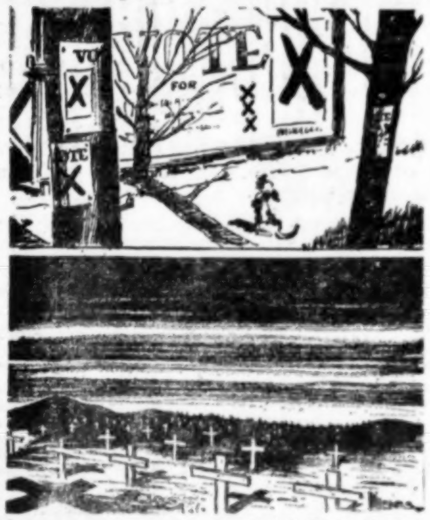
THE NATION

Fear of depression haunts voters on eve of election

By Tabitha Petran

THE election campaign goes into its final stage with millions of voters still undecided. A major "dilemma" explaining this is seen by Samuel Lubell in his national Scripps-Howard survey (N. Y. **World Telegram**, 10/17):

> Rightly or wrongly, a sizable portion of the electorate feels that the Korean War is all that is keeping us from a serious economic recession. They see the future as a choice between two dread insecurities—war or depression.



Cleveland Plain Dealer
CROSSES

The old parties have no solution. Anne O'Hare McCormick noted (**N. Y. Times, 10/18**) that the "net effect" of foreign policy speeches last week by Secy. Acheson at UN, Eisenhower in New York, and Stevenson in Los Angeles

> . . . is that under the extravagant charges and counter-charges of campaign oratory they are in general agreement . . . [particularly on fighting in Korea] as long as necessary.

Similarly the old parties offer no choice of economic programs. Eisenhower, wooing the many who identify the Republican party with depression, attacks Democratic "war prosperity," promising "economy" and "tax reduction." Stevenson's answer—"that our defense effort is, in a sense, holding back prosperity"—is (**Jorunal of Commerce, 10/9, 14**)

> . . . a variation on the theme that "you never had it so good" d:signed to intrigue those timid souls who do not like "war prosperity" and who are afraid of what might happen once the economy passes the defense build-up peak.

WARFARE & WELFARE: Stevenson's demagogy on prosperity and welfare matches Eisenhower's on getting the boys out of Korea. For he shut the door just as firmly as have the Republicans on spending for public works and resources development——the Keynesian alternative to an arms economy, to

(Continued on Page 3)

Rosenbergs get stay; no let-up in fight

TWO days after it rejected a request to review the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, both under sentence of death on a charge of passing on atom-bomb information to the Soviet Union, the U. S. Supreme Court stayed its order, giving the defense 15 days in which to file a petition for a re-hearing.

The government then has ten days to file an answer, but may waive this right. The court's action automatically stayed setting of a new date of execution. The Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case urged no let-up in the nationwide campaign to win executive clemency through direct appeals to President Truman.

The Committee also announced that the deadline for signatures on "amicus curiae" petitions—friendly intervention in the court by interested supporters—has been extended to Oct. 25 and asked for thousands of new names in addition to some 40,000 already obtained. The petitions will be delivered Oct. 28.

UNION SQ. RALLY: Preparations went ahead for the "Justice for the Rosenbergs" rally to be held in New York's historic Union Square on Oct. 29. The rally will launch a nationwide post-card campaign addressed to the President. Distribution was also planned for 500,000 copies of a four-page tabloid-sized paper detailing the facts and background of the case. At a Philadelphia rally for the couple last week, 400 persons unanimously adopted a resolution asking clemency and contributed $1,100 for the defense.

Both the Jewish **Daily Forward** and the Jewish **Day**, two of the largest and most influential papers in their language field, last week reiterated pleas for clemency which both first made when the sentences were pronounced.

ALL OUT ON NOVEMBER 4!
For Peace and Decency—vote Hallinan and Bass

Vote with the majority for peace!

THIS ISSUE OF NATIONAL GUARDIAN is the first of our fifth volume—and the last that will reach many of our readers before Election Day.

During four years of publication it has been our task to chronicle, week by week, the most shamefully un-American chapter in American history—and at the same time to strive to keep burning the light of sanity: the light of a progressive America that was our legacy from Franklin D. Roosevelt—the America that was, and that we are confident will be again.

This shameful chapter reaches a climax on the eve of the Presidential election with the spurning of all pleas for justice for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—condemned to death under the Democratic "Fair Deal" administration for an act they did not commit; and with a super-witch-hunt in the nation's schools and unions—and even in the United Nations—conducted by Democratic Sen. Pat McCarran, who has put a dirty-word label on every decent American tradition. This is the man whose "views" Gov. Stevenson does "not know very well."

THE AMERICAN TRADITION is being deliberately murdered by the Democratic Administration in the bipartisan cold war. The evidence is as plain as it is non-existent in the Rosenberg case. The motive? Our financial and industrial monopolies have embarked on a war policy which can only be carried through by silencing opposition through fear—and the Administration is a mere utensil and factotum for its own Frankenstein monster, the Pentagon, and for these groups whose appetite for profit can never be satisfied.

Now we are faced with the alternative of an Eisenhower-Nixon-McCarthy administration which will intensify the inquisition at home, continue the slaughter in Korea and provoke new and greater wars—or a Stevenson-Sparkman-McCarran administration which will intensify the inquisition at home, continue the slaughter in Korea and provoke new and greater wars.

The names of the men who will conduct the inquisition and provoke the wars are of no more importance to the average citizen seeking peace, freedom and abundance than are the names of the Supreme Court Justices who refused the first rehearing plea to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

ONLY THE PEOPLE—by protest—can stop the witch-hunts and the war drive. The only alternative for Americans whom fear has not deprived of their wits is to act on the advice of one of our greatest people's leaders, Eugene Debs: Don't vote for what you don't want and get it; vote for what you do want—and keep working to get it, even if you can't get it tomorrow morning.

These things could hardly be more clear:

- Neither a Stevenson nor an Eisenhower administration can, even if it would, do anything to slow the march toward war so long as Washington is totally subservient to big business.
- Neither a Stevenson nor an Eisenhower administration can prevent another depression: a developing war economy makes a depression inevitable.

Above all, ask your friends and work-mates who doubt the value of a "protest vote" for what they want—for the program of the Progressive Party—to consider their vote in the light of the world scene in this fateful November of 1952. It is no longer possible to vote intelligently on any other basis.

THE PEOPLES of the countries tied to our cold-war policies are daily putting up stronger resistance to those policies. The colonial peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are making it plain that they will no longer be subservient to any imperialism. The third of the world's people who have bent their efforts to building peaceful abundance through socialism show their consciousness of developing strength by their steadfastness in the face of incredible provocations from Washington.

The peoples of the world have already voted in overwhelming majority to take peace in their hands like a sword and banish war forever from the earth.

They look to us as their brothers to vote with them—as the spirits of all great Americans of the past look to us to vote for peace.

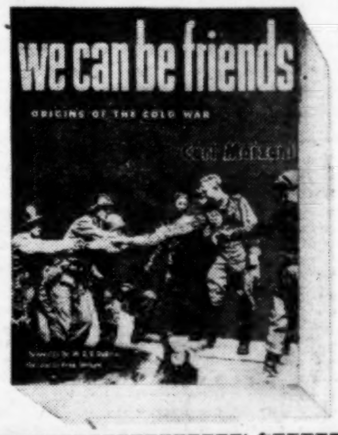
Make no mistake about it: every single vote for peace next month, polled in the present atmosphere of fear and hysteria and news black-out of the Progressive Party, will be heard in Washington as a mighty voice against war—and for the sanity and all the good things that are inseparable from peace.

Happy GUARDIAN birthday. Light a candle for us by voting for Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass and all the Progressive Party local candidates on Nov. 4. See you at the polls.

THE EDITORS

FREE with your renewal NOW

CARL MARZANI'S GREAT NEW BOOK



- **If your address plate on the reverse of this book is printed in RED, your subscription has expired and your renewal is immediately due.**
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TO GET YOUR FREE COPY OF "WE CAN BE FRIENDS," JUST CLIP OUT THIS BOX. THERE'S NOTHING TO FILL OUT BECAUSE YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS ARE ON THE OTHER SIDE. AIRMAIL TODAY WITH $2. DOLLAR BILLS ARE O.K. TO MAIL. ADDRESS THE ENVELOPE TO

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National Guardian 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

REPORT TO READERS

This is our birthday, but we'll celebrate in January

BACK IN SEPTEMBER Judge Norval Harris of Sullivan, Ind., noted the GUARDIAN's upcoming fourth birthday this month. He proposed a round of GUARDIAN birthday parties with a big sub-getting drive as a birthday present for us.

At the same time, we announced a birthday celebration in New York for Nov. 21, and a lot of people wrote in proposing similar gatherings in their communities.

Well, we've been so preoccupied with the election campaign (even as you) and our subscription renewal campaign (have you?) that we just haven't had time to work on the birthday party idea.

SO WE ARE PUTTING OFF our celebration till January, and fixed a fairly-definite date for the New York party for Friday, January 16, 1953.

We'd like it fine if every community we reach could have a similar shindig about that time. We'll help you arrange one; just drop us a line.

BUT WE'D LIKE IT even finer if everybody buckled down NOW on the second part of Judge Harris's suggestion—that you send us a shower of new subscriptions as a birthday present.

You folks who helped round up from four to several dozen new readers each during our 4-for-$1 campaign sub drive could help make it a real bang-up birthday. All you have to do is visit these new readers now and ask them to subscribe for a full year. We'll start their year's sub at the date their 4-for-$1 sub expires.

—THE EDITORS

Why vote Progressive

ASTORIA, ORE.

We need the Progressive Party to give us a voice for peace. We looked to the churches to raise their voices to end this horrible slaughter in Korea, but most churches only speak for peace when there is no war. Some are an exception. The Quakers have worked for peace since the start of Korea. The Episcopal Natl. Convention in Boston recently came out with peace proposals. We hope that more of the churches will turn Christian ere long.

We looked to the newspapers to fight for peace, which they know we want, but they would take only the side of big business, which wants war to swell its profits.

We looked to the two old parties, but both were as silent as the grave.

But the Progressive Party, God bless them, has come out definitely for a cease fire in Korea.

I believe that even if one does not except to put PP candidates intoto office at this date, he should still vote the PP ticket as a petition to the party that does make it: "We want all the good things the Progressive Party stands for."

Zela Pargeon, Secy.,
Clatsop Co. Progressive Party

The lessor

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

A "lessor" is one who grants a lease. A "lease" is the temporary grant of possession or use for compensation at a fixed rate. Wall Street is the lessor of two evils: The Republicans and the Democrats. **Nita Narr**

•

E. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Richard Nixon accepted $18,235 in extra-legal cash.

Adlai Stevenson disbursed $18,150 in extra-legal cash.

That makes the Democrats the lesser of two evils by $85.

Gussie Molman

"Isolated votes" vital

MOBERLY, MO.

The number of people who are brave enough to "stand up and be counted" through the secret ballot for peace and freedom will show the forces of reaction how big the concentration camps would have to be. In this connection the votes of isolated Progressives and GUARDIAN readers are important.

Thousands of isolated votes for Hallinan and Bass in thousands of individual communities reached by the GUARDIAN will indicate the size of the task of repression and will slow and help to halt the drive to total fascism. For this reason, it is vital that every single progressive and GUARDIAN reader casts his vote in November even if he lives in a state where PP is denied the freedom of the ballot and he has to scratch out "Tafthower" and write in Hallinan and Bass. **(Rev.) David W. Janes**

How crazy can you get dept.

TOKYO—(Special)—After two American soldiers committed suicide by jumping from the sixth floor of the Tokyo finance building barracks, the American Army issued a directive stating it was against army regulations for personnel to jump from buildings. Violators, it warned, in the future, would be prosecuted.

—Minneapolis Star, Oct. 10.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: Mrs. Irma Peterson, Crosby, Minn.

Hinterlanders who think

OTTAWA, KANSAS

We have never been "through the mill" with you in the past, as you put it. Ever since we heard of you we have been in a tough row of stumps ourselves, living in this hinterland where wages are down to 1932 levels in this "war-prosperity" period. We both work with our hands, because we sometimes have forgotten to hide the fact that we think. In this town merely receiving the GUARDIAN is sufficient to make a man the object of suspicion. We have managed to squeeze out the enclosed two dollars this week, in response to your urgent appeal. We wish it were more, because we know your fight is ours and without a fight we shall soon have nothing at all.

Doris and Ira Meade

•

TAUNTON, MASS.

In response to your plea, enclosed $2. Wish it could be more. You have a wonderful paper, a breath of fresh air amid the sickening corruption staring us in the face.

P. M. Yelle

•

DO YOUR XMAS SHOPPING THRU THE GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
See Page 11

Comic books for gooks

NEW YORK, N. Y.

To godless Reds
Benighted, straight
Our way of life
Must radiate.

In blast and blaze
To gook and clod
Bring comic books
TV and God.

Cannon and flame
Would have sufficed
If they believed
On Jesus Christ.

But they deny
Our Kingdom Come—
On them must fall
The atom bomb.

Th' immortal souls
From their bodies tear,
So they may know
The soul is there!

Arthur Newman

Wall St. Journal

"I was just making the point, Fred, that the sooner we get started the sooner we'll have enough material for magazine articles."

A rat's gotta eat

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

These days, informers before the Un-American Committee collect their FORTY pieces of silver. Inflation, you know. **M. O. Coggin**

For the Rosenbergs

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I hope every one of your readers will write both to the President and to his Congressman on behalf of the Rosenbergs. I have written to Rep. Javits pointing out the stark discrepancy between the Rosenberg sentence and those received by Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose and by Drs. May and Fuchs, and reminding him that:

"Some time ago you assured me that if the issue of executive clemency arose in the Rosenberg case you would consider taking some action to moderate the excessive sentence. You are probably of the opinion that the courts have rendered justice in this case, but at this point I would not spend time disputing this matter with you.... Like thousands of others I have already written to Mr. Truman, urging him to commute a sentence that the Jewish Daily Forward called 'horrible' and 'cruel.'

"I am certain that your intervention in behalf of such a commutation would carry great weight with him. Furthermore, since President Truman commuted the sentence of Mr. Oscar Collazo, convicted of having attempted to assassinate the President, there is no reason why he should not also be able to recognize the justice of commuting the sentences of Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg."

Morris U. Schappes

Who are the traitors?

WARWICK, R. I.

If the death penalty on the Rosenbergs is carried out, it would be a very nice way of fulfilling the law if the judge who passed that sentence were made to carry out the act himself. It makes you think of Mary Magdalene, who was condemned to die by stoning; Jesus upheld the law as written and then gave His order: "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

I am not upholding nor condemning the Rosenbergs or the Communists or Russia either. But there are worse traitors in Washington in that lot of corrupt politicians who got us into this mess we are now in. We are living in a state of bestiality and madness, where Fear and Hate are responsible for all this state of affairs. There are millions of Americans who are not Communists who are more loyal than any of these war-mongers and witch-hunters we have at work here. Right among those who have been convicted as a result of this war-mongering and witch-hunting are those who are more loyal than the ones who have convicted them.

James Rooney

Teacher intimidation

BELMONT, MASS.

The Middlesex County Dist. Atty. has announced a further delay of my trial and of the two other defendants. He has been quoted as saying he does not wish to proceed to trial so long as one of the defendants, Mrs. Gilbert, is fighting extradition from Illinois. He has argued that trying us all together will save the expense of two trials. The financial argument is hardly convincing if we consider how much the taxpayers might have been saved in dollars, and how much the Commonwealth might have been saved in self-respect, if these indictments had not been sought in the first place.

It seems a refined cruelty to hold a man under criminal indictment for a year and longer, his fate subject to events over which neither he nor the prosecution seems to have any control. I said at the outset that the principal effect of my indictment was to intimidate teachers who want to speak out for peace and for the truth as they see it. The whole history of this case seems to confirm my opinion.

In short, although I am charged with shaking the foundations of the Commonwealth and of the Nation by something I supposedly said between 1944 and 1948, and the indictments came years after that, and now more than another year has elapsed, it will still be some time before the public can know whether or not a man may hold and express a point of view unpopular in some places without going to jail. **Dirk J. Struik**

"Calculated probe"

KINGSTON, ARK.

Newsweek, Oct. 6, p. 17: "Calculated Probe . . . the U.S. high command is determined to probe Russia's combative spirit a little farther than usual to get a line on her intentions. Exercise Main Brace and air attacks near the Russian border in Korea were designed in part to see how far the Soviets could be provoked before starting to make warlike noises. It's part of the dangerous nerve war that's now going on."

"The mischief-makers will one day find themselves bowing allegiance to Satan."—Scripture.

W. H. Burton

A plan for peace

CHICAGO, ILL.

You may prevent Germany becoming a second Korea. Our complete PLAN is being sent free to peace organizations and peace-active individuals who send us copies of their recent releases. Other persons may secure it for 10c plus references about their peace activities. In lieu of references, we will accept carbon copies of recent letters to congressmen, other officials, or newspapers.

Albert Bofman
U.S. Comm. Against Militarization
6329 S. May St.

POORE RICHARD'S ALMANACK

September hath xxx days; Nixon hath xviiiccxxxv dollars.

MD	Remarkable Days	Weather	fun rifes & fets	Lunations; Maxims
23	Richard faces wireless and magic lantern.	foul	6 48 6	Laft Quarter.
24	Richard races to meet Eyck.	stormy	6 47 6	A good wife & Health is a Man's beft Wealth.

Man's rich with little, were his Judgment true,
Were Nixon frugal, and his Wants were few,
Thofe few Wants anewered, bring fincere Delights,
But Fools create themfelves new Appetites.

Fancy and pride feek Votes at vaft Expence,
Which relifh not to Reafon nor to Senfe
Like any ward-heeler, to fubfift we ftrive
On Joys too thin to keep the Soul alive.

—R. Saunders

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Fear of depression haunts America

(Continued from Page 1)

which the Democrats once at least paid lip-service. The Stevenson theme:

> "How much we can spend and when for any of these things is something that only the primary demands of defense, of war and peace, of fiscal responsibility from year to year can answer" (10/9).

Neither old party has proposed a welfare alternative to the warfare program; Stevenson, in fact, directly demands a mandate for warfare over welfare. Nor has either party (**J. of C.** 10/14) discussed the key problem of

Regards, Paris

American hiccups

what to do when defense spending passes its peak and we are left with

> . . . the new industrial capacity that has been built up and that has resulted in a tremendous increase in productivity. . . . [The Democratic answer seems to be] that we must keep on using stronger and stronger doses of the same stimulants. . . . [The Republicans have not spelled out how they propose] to get us off the horns of this dilemma.

"DOWNTREND" SEEN: Both old parties are silent on the question now being debated—and decided—in Wall St. and Washington: whether and how fast the nation moves into a full war economy.

The question is posed by revived business fears of a "post-defense slump," which if it comes on schedule—defense spending was supposed to reach its peak around mid-1953—will (**J. of C.** 10/11) "rank as one of the most widely advertised recessions in economic history." The Am. Bankers Assn. last month heard "speaker after speaker . . . warn that the possibility of a business recession must be taken into account" (**AP**, 9/29). The Research Inst. of Am. recently told businessmen to prepare in the coming year for "a recession that may be deeper and longer lasting than any interval of difficulty since the '30's." Top private business economists, meeting in Washington to map guidance for businessmen who spend and invest private capital, predicted (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 10/5)

> . . . business will begin to fall off about this time next year and will continue a downtrend for as much as 18 months.

Why business fears depression

When World War II ended U. S. business quickly converted to civilian production, to cash in on the huge market for consumer and capital goods resulting from war devastation and pent-up demand. By 1947 the upturn lost momentum; the Truman Doctrine provided a 3.5 billion-dollar shot in the arm, and the upward movement was resumed. But by Feb., 1948, when grain markets broke and farm commodities fell, the Natl. City Bank reported "uneasiness increasing."

At this point Truman demanded a massive (in terms of those days) rearmament program. It upped arms spending another 3.4 billion dollars. Yet by the end of 1948 the downturn resumed and continued through most of 1949. The recession showed how an arms economy needs ever larger doses of arms spending—not a simple arithmetic addition, but a geometric acceleration—to avert crisis. The 1949 increase, and maintenance of the same high level in fiscal 1950, were not enough.

BUSINESS BENZEDRINE: By spring, 1950, real trouble was indicated: unemployment was highest in ten years; a 16% fall in real wages between 1945 and 1948 left 1950 consumers able to buy only 68% of U. S. output—lowest proportion in history; business, which had cut plant-expansion spending by 5% in 1949, planned another 13% cut. Seeking to explain Administration confidence in view of the expected further decline in consumer spending, **J. of C.** (5/50) found

> . . . every reason to believe that it stands ready with a great big new needle to inject new life into the economy as soon as things threaten to slow down seriously. . . . The Administration's present optimism is primarily based on the belief that the same recipe will work again, although a larger dose of benzedrine may be necessary.

U. S. News (5/19/50) explained:

> Business won't go to pot so long . . . as every alarm can be used to step up spending-lending for defense at home and foreign aid abroad. . . . But shooting eventually is the end product of present policies.

"SAVED" BY WAR: The shooting began in Korea June 25. Rufus Tucker, General Motors' top economist, told the Natl. Industrial Conference Bd. in Jan., 1951, that with post-war consumer demand for durable goods saturated by spring, 1950, "we would have been in for a rough time if it had not been for the Korean War."

The war jumped arms spending $10 billion—triple the increases of the earlier years. Yet by fall, 1951, business had depression worries again—stemming, as the **GUARDIAN** (11/21/51) showed, basically from the continued decline in consumer buying—main prop of the economy—and fear that military spending couldn't make up for it. The war program's size and duration were widely debated by big business last winter, with some cold-war tycoons like General Motors' Charles Wilson fearing that "over-arming" could precipitate "a third world war."

Significantly, the answer was given by the military, which got a $23 billion increase in arms spending—more than double the previous year's increase. Upping and stretching out the arms program wiped out business opposition to it for the time being.

CONSUMERS "HESITANT": Again last spring the basic weakness of declining consumer demand showed up, and to pour money into the economy the Administration relaxed credit restrictions on consumer durables and housing, and restrictions on municipal and state borrowing to stimulate road building etc. But **J. of C.** (9/22) pointed out:

> . . . It is by no means sure that removal of credit restrictions will bring back the frenzied buying of homes and durable goods of 1950 . . . backlogs of unsatisfied consumers demand for durables inherited from the war period are largely satisfied . . . both lenders and borrowers are in a different frame of mind. There is less confidence about the long term outlook, now that the economy is so largely geared to defense spending. And consumers who have increased their debts are more hesitant to incur obligations.

Business worries today

Although the 1953 budget provides for still greater arms spending, it is not enough to allay the fear of depression. Sharp stock-market breaks, last month and again this, reflect the basic fact that even this scale of war and war spending cannot keep the boom going indefinitely. Newly-appointed economic adviser Robert Turner set off an explosion when he said last month:

> ". . . The time when defense expenditures were rising month after month has come to an end. . . . The industrial expansion program stimulated in substantial measure by the mobilization program has passed its peak."

Secys. Lovett and Sawyer promptly denied this, insisting that war spending would not reach peak levels till mid-'53. Turner then "climbed down" (**J. of C.** 10/17), saying that

> ". . . the important point is . . . that the period of rapid growth in military expenditures is coming to an end. On the average the rise in this fiscal year will be small in contrast with the rapid month-to-month increase which has characterized the last two years, when military expenditures rose from less than $3 billion a quarter to over $12 billion."

That was what Turner said in the first place. His point was that the **rate** of arms spending is beginning to decline. Between fiscal 1951 and fiscal 1952 it rose by over $20 billion; but the increase indicated in the present fiscal year will be less than $10 billion. What's more, by the first half of next year the amount of new defense orders will be considerably less than it has been.

THE GASPING PUMP: This poses acutely the problem of depression. Arms spending has primed the pump, but in so doing impoverished the people and widened the critical production-consumption gap—necessitating more pump-priming with further impoverishment and still further widening of the gap—and bringing war nearer to stave off collapse.

In 1950, as Turner admitted, only the Korean War saved the economy. Since Korea productive capacity and productivity have greatly increased, living standards dropped sharply:

- Manufacturers have added about $22 billion in new plant and equipment without scrapping much of the old plant. Business Week (9/6) commented: "If the demand were there, output could easily be pushed much higher than in the post-Korean surge." But, output is just about where it was two years ago.
- Productivity rose 6.3% in 1950, double the average rate for the previous 17 years.
- For the typical factory worker taxes have risen from 10c to 25c an hour, price rises have taken another 15c; so despite money-wage increases, real wages are down 7c an hour or $148 a year.
- The percentage of workers' families who could afford the government's minimum budget dropped from 38% in Oct., 1950, to 25% in Oct., 1951.
- Consumer debt—$21.3 billion—is at an all-time high. Business Week (10/18) reported people now pay 10% of their income as installments and interest on debts compared to 5% in 1945.

THE MIRAGE: Reduced living standards mean still lower purchasing power:

> . . . It begins to look as if the greatly increased productive capacity . . . will be coming in at the wrong time, i.e., when demand is in a slump (J. of C, 10/11).

"With defense expenditures . . . virtually [at] their peak," said Turner, "increasingly in the months ahead we will have to rely on a rising level of consumer expenditures to maintain growth and stability." But the two old parties have no program to stimulate consumer spending—and it cannot rise in an economy which is daily reducing consumer buying-power.

The Administration doctrine that defense spending can be turned down like a water tap never works in practice. Apart from the dislocation and unemployment it would produce in war industries, businessmen will not invest capital in consumer industries when these—owing to reduced consumer buying power—are already in over-production. The war economy's very nature thus presses for a speed-up in tempo rather than a tapering-off.

MORE FOR WAR: Business' critical problem is that new plant and equipment expansion has—as Turner said—virtually passed its peak. This production of means of production, of the goods that make other goods, is the basis of the whole economic structure. When consumer or war industry or both slow down or cease to expand, demand for new plant and equipment falls off; with the economy's basic sector beginning to operate at less than capacity, a crisis of over-production begins.

In the present situation only a huge increase in arms spending, comparable to and bigger than the initial Korean War, increase, can avert a slowdown in capital-goods demand pointing to a general crisis.

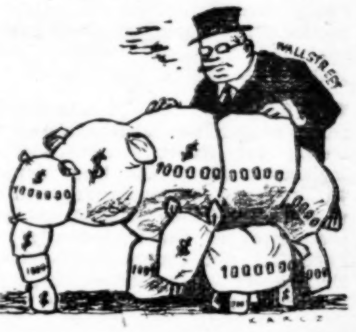
The Pentagon decides

The decision on how to meet this problem is already being made. The Office of Defense Mobilization's 7th quarterly report calls for "rounding out the mobilization base" to ensure "that we are in all respects ready to move rapidly toward full mobilization. . . ." The business press interpreted the report as pointing to acceleration of the arms program to avert a recession. Robert S. Allen (N. Y. **Post**, 10/7) reported:

> While the campaign hustings are ringing with loud talk about cutting taxes and military expenditures, Pentagon leaders are quietly going about their affairs in an entirely different direction. . . . The heads of the armed services are preparing 1953 budget demands that have no more relation to the noisy political clatter than the man in the moon. . . . The Pentagon is proceeding on this single-minded conviction: Regardless of what politics say and promise now and notwithstanding who is the next incumbent in the White House the military requirements of the nation are inexorable and will have to be met.

Armstrong Cork economist Walter H. Hoadley told the ABA Sept. 29:

> ". . . The stage is being set for a number of far-reaching political and psychological changes . . . that will have the effect of injecting new albeit artificial strength in the business situation. . . . These changes will be reflected in government policies and may lead to redirection of the defense program."



Szpilki, Warsaw

TWO PARTY SYSTEM

The "changes" undoubtedly referred, among other things, to the anti-labor action expected from the next administration, whichever party wins, and the move toward a full war economy. The **Wall St. Journal** (10/18) saw in the continuation of the Korean War

> . . . the possibility of a greater defense program for this country rather than the levelling off that has been so generally predicted in official circles.

THE PUSH AND THE PULL: The need for "a greater defense program" to stave off depression is certainly one reason both old parties insist on continuing the war; but its continuation as such is unlikely to be enough. Economic pressures to accelerate war spending, combined with political pressures, sharpening difficulties with allies and the worsening U. S. military situation in Asia, are pushing toward expansion of the war. **NYHT**'s Marguerite Higgins reported from Hong Kong (10/17):

> . . . The next President will have to cope with the fact that a high proportion of senior and politically disinterested Western officials in the Far East believe that a victory in the field over the Communist enemy in Korea is essential to the free world's stake in Asia. . . . [These officials include high-ranking British and French officers, and they believe Russia will not enter the war]. . . . The risks involved in seeking a military decision—a decision that would decisively set back the Communists—seem less to the officials out here than the risks of fighting indefinitely a war of attrition in which time works for your enemy.

The pressures for war are powerful, but so are the forces for peace. By pressing the demand for an immediate cease-fire and building the Progressive Party, Americans can prepare for the sharp struggle inevitable after the elections and throw their weight on the side of peace.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

IS THIS THE LESSER EVIL?

Stevenson: the Big Lie

By Victor Perlo

IN Detroit Oct. 7 Gov. Stevenson outdid his previous speeches in distortion of history; promised even fiercer attacks than the Truman Administration's on civil liberties; and expressed the most studied support of fascist ideology and methods ever publicly propounded by a major party Presidential candidate:

• "In the election of 1932 almost one million Americans voted against the capitalist system—one million.. . . . We licked the communist hope of a revolution in the Thirties."

Identifying "free government" with capitalism, and apparently denying the right to change through the ballot, Stevenson put this forward as his main "evidence" of the work of "agents of Soviet Communism." It was a clear attack on all progressives starting with Communists.

THE FACTS: The million were 2½% of the electorate; 900,000 of them voted for the Socialist Party whose leaders were anti-Soviet. In 1912, before the U.S.S.R., 6% of the U.S. electorate went Socialist.

Only 100,000 voted for the Communist Party—which in 1932 campaigned not for socialism but for unemployment insurance, minimum wages, stopping farm foreclosures.

THE RECORD: FDR's Administration, responding to the progressive-led movements for improvement, encouraged legislation along the lines demanded. Truman and Stevenson respond otherwise. In California in 1950, 600,000 people (most of them obviously neither Socialists nor Communists) voted for Bernadette Doyle, Communist, who ran for Supt. of Education on a platform of peace, civil rights and schools instead of A-bombs. Instead of recognizing this mass demand, Truman indicted the candidate under the Smith Act—a procedure Stevenson supports and promises to extend.

Identification with fascism

• "Communism . . . survived as an instrument of subversion and espionage. Soviet secret agents . . . even penetrated the Nazi government in Germany . . . the government of imperial Japan . . . the anti-Communist government of Chiang Kai-shek."

This identification with foreign fascist governments ignores the fact—recognized by top Western leaders a few years ago—that these governments' anti-Communist drives were cover-ups to lead millions of all or no political beliefs into gas chambers, tens of millions to their death in war. Not even verbally dissociating himself from these regimes, Stevenson boasted of fighting communism more successfully than "any other country in the world."

"Loyalty" & witch-hunts

• ". . . Democratic leadership has built an elaborate internal security system to protect this nation against communist subversion—a system which has put the leaders of the Communist Party in this country where they belong—behind bars."

Stevenson upheld the Smith Act (which the CIO called "a grave blow to America's precious heritage of freedom of speech"); promised "if it can be, [to] strengthen or improve" Truman's "loyalty" procedure, described by Abraham Pomerantz, deputy chief counsel at the Nuremberg trials, as "a striking and sickening parallel to the Nazi decree" on loyalty. He praised the "superb job" of J. Edgar Hoover, who organized the Palmer Raids of 1930 but in 1942 let the German-American Bund operate unimpeded as a Nazi spy and propaganda center for seven months after Germany declared war on the U.S.; who has built up the FBI from a tiny $4,000,000-budget agency in 1935 to an $84,000,000-a-year, all-pervading agency of intimidators and snoops against progressives. (With a current announced payroll of over 14,000 employes, there is now almost one FBI agent for every two Communists, according to Hoover's own figures.)

JOHN BROWN'S BODY LIES A'MOULDRIN' . . .
Adlai Stevenson in high spirits waves the Confederate flag in a New Orleans parade. Just a gag? Ask your Negro friends if it makes them gag.

Union busting

• "We of the Democratic Party have fought communism in America for 20 years . . . in the union h lls."

This glorification of union-busting had been spelled out a day earlier by Secy. Acheson who before the CIO-IUE convention praised the splitting activities of James B. Carey and his associates: activities featured by use of Ku Kluxers to knock out the eye of Mine-Mill leader Maurice Travis, and the recent bloody raid on UE Pittsburgh headquarters by Carey goons aided by Christian Frontiers (GUARDIAN, Sept. 11). Other Administration union-busting includes the intensified persecution of the ILWU's Harry Bridges, Smith Act indictments against militant unionists, deportations and screenings.

With all this, Stevenson sought to hold the support of liberals. But he left liberals trying to measure his attacks on McCarthy (mainly for "'not catching any Communists") against his acceptance of support from McCarran; and his plea for "full respect for the Bill of Rights" against his silence on the shattering of the Bill of Rights by the FBI and the courts.

Progressives, and some liberals less adept in forgetting recent history, heard the language of unrestrained fascism when Stevenson promised to continue

". . . catching communist agents, like poisonous snakes or tigers [until] the communist conspiracy . . . is smashed beyond repair."

They could not forget that similar hysterics accompanied Hitler's beheadings of political opponents—as they accompany the death sentences on the Rosenbergs here.

This is the alternative—Hallinan: the Big Truth

IN his Oct. 7 speech at Saginaw, Mich., Stevenson dismissed as Soviet propaganda the theory that "we have undertaken our defense program . . . to prevent a depression at home." In a **CBS-TV** interview Oct. 6, Progressive Party candidate Hallinan insisted it was the cold truth and added:

"I have statements from responsible newspapers including the N.Y. Times. . . . If you want me to read them I will be glad to do so. . . ."

An interviewer, trying to bring the talk back to "communism" (Hallinan took the offensive and maintained it almost throughout), broke in:

"I would prefer to ask a question. At the convention in which your selection as Presidential candidate . . ."

HALLINAN: "Pardon me, let me refer to this one statement on June 26, 1951—the N.Y. Times published this headline: PEACE BIDS BRING SLUMP IN STOCK. Next day the headline read: MARKET LOW AND WAITING WORD FROM WASHINGTON. In other words, we had a peace scare and that would cause a depression. They don't want peace in Korea. . . . I believe both parties, Democratic and Republican, are the captives of American big business. . . . Now there are just four of us in this room and I am talking to these cynical newspapermen. Let me put it up to you: do you mean to tell me you don't recognize that the two old parties are now dominated by big business?"

(Silence by three interrogators. Next question.)

•

Q. "Marcantonio has said, 'The first line of defense is the defense of the Communist Party.' Do you subscribe to this?"

HALLINAN: "I most emphatically do. As soon as you take people of a country who take unorthodox lines and consider them expendable, the next people are liberals and next, middle-roaders — and finally there is nobody left but the extreme reactionaries. . . ."

Q. "Do you think the Communist Party takes the nature of a conspiratorial organization which may be plotting to overthrow this government?"

HALLINAN: "I emphatically do not believe that. . . . The attempts by our government to prove that by hired persons . . . is like what they tried to do to the abolitionists when they tried to put an end to human slavery, and what was done to women's suffrage."

In connection with the Korean War an interviewer asked about "countries the Russians have tried to knock off. . . . There was Czechoslovakia. . . ."

HALLINAN: "They did not, sir, and I think that is an insult to the Czechoslovakian people. I know it is fashionable for newspapers in this country to take it as a fact that every country that embraces socialism or communism is dominated by Russia. I don't think they are. . . . There is turmoil going on between two conflicting systems all over the world. . . . Let me ask you something. Suppose the English Labour Party were back in power. Would the English people then turn themselves over to the domination of the Russian people?"

(Silence. Next question.)

•

Q. "Henry Wallace said after he broke his connection that the Communists had made a shambles of the Progressive Party. . . ."

HALLINAN: "That is a statement about as fuzzy as a lot of others Wallace has made. . . . The difference of opinion between Wallace and the Progressive Party was Wallace wanted to support the U.S. in intervening in the Korean Civil War and the party did not. . . . The Progressive Party stands for certain fixed principles and we will accept the support of any person who accedes to those principles, be he Communist, Socialist, Democrat or Republican. We haven't any loyalty tests or any spectroscopic manner of testing a person as to whether he is pink or red or what."

VINCENT HALLINAN SPEAKS ON THE WATERFRONT IN HIS TOUR OF NEW YORK

Well, they wore red coats

Gov. Stevenson still has some distance to catch up in the race by big business and its spokesmen to turn U.S. political history upside down. The whole history of the U.S. starting with the Revolutionary War and including the two World Wars has been a fight against socialism according to a full-page ad being published by the Standard Steel Spring Co. of Coraopolis, Pa., which begins (see N.Y. **Times**, 10/15— emphasis in original):

Let's put away all the ten dollar words and call a spade a spade. Socialism in plain English—is nothing more nor less than POLITICAL MANAGEMENT of the lives—THE TOTAL LIVES—of people. Somewhere back in history—around 1776—it seems we polished up some muskets, rammed 'em with gunpowder, and stopped the first attempt to MANAGE OUR lives. And again in 1917. And again in 1941. . . .

PROFILE

Reuben Borough: IPP Candidate for Senator in California

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

WHEN Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass spoke here recently, the mass meeting of 10,000 almost disrupted the program with their cheers for the man who introduced them: 69-year-old, Ohio-born Reuben Borough, Ind. Progressive Party candidate for the U. S. Senate. Borough told them:

"There is no other Senatorial candidate of labor and the common people of California. My only opponent, Sen. William Knowland [Republican 'Senator from Formosa,' who won both Democratic and GOP primaries], is the candidate of the monopoly business interests and the union-busting employers of this state and nation."

The fact that Borough is the only candidate against such a black and notorious reactionary as Knowland, in a state with such a strong progressive tradition as California, partly explains the breadth and enthusiasm of the forces fighting for his election. As Borough says:

"The whole progressive movement is steamed up—outside the Progressive Party as well as in. A Democrats for Borough Committee has been formed. I've talked with Republicans whom I've known for years, and who are still basically progressive—and I'm expecting things. I attended a conference of 100 key labor leaders, another of 25 full-time union officials—all of whom felt Knowland must be defeated. As I'm the only other candidate on the ballot, nobody has this worry about 'throwing away a vote.'"

In this connection Borough relates with a chuckle:

"One fellow who had a terrible time with his problem finally scowled in a friendly way and said, 'I'd have to vote for you if you were a dog.'"

A conservative labor leader, a lifelong machine Democrat, gave Borough a thoughtful handshake, saying cryptically:

"This is no insult, see? But I've GOT to vote for you this time!"

HE "WILL BE HEARD": Disgust with Knowland has shattered previous cold-war political alignments in this campaign—but factors on the positive side

REUBEN BOROUGH
Versus the Formosa Senator

are powerful. For Californians Borough has been during more than two decades a man with broad political appeal—a fighter in the state's historic labor and liberal causes who cannot be bribed, bamboozled or beaten down.

Unlike Rep. C. D. McKinnon, whose concern with Democratic machine commitments let the GOP's Knowland walk away with the Democratic nomination last spring under California's cross-filing system, Borough has conducted a hard-hitting campaign in the social and economic areas most disillusioned by the Washington status quo.

Influenced in his youth by the anti-slavery ideas of the men of Lincoln's armies who were still around, Borough's fervor on the platform is that of the Abolitionist who will not retreat and will be heard.

ANTI-STUFFED SHIRT: His earliest audiences were newspaper readers in Indiana small towns, in Chicago, and by 1917 in Los Angeles—where he naturally gravitated as a reporter to the old Los Angeles **Record**, then opposing California's money overlords.

In the tradition of his friend and contemporary, Lincoln Steffens, Borough attacked the evils of his day with his keen journalistic talents, his disdain for stuffed shirts, his hatred of social cruelty. As the **Record**'s top reporter and political editor, he fought for municipal ownership of water and power, exposed monopoly controls of the public welfare, braved threats of jail to cover Star Chamber sessions of the police commission from which reporters had previously been excluded.

He converted Pershing Square into a free-speech area by smashing a city ordinance in the role of an inquiring reporter, though he was arrested in the course of his campaign.

EPIC BATTLES: When author Upton Sinclair, liberal leader Hugh Hardyman and others were rousted by the police in San Pedro for reading aloud in public the Declaration of Independence, Borough was there. The police, who had been violently dispersing waterfront strikers' meetings, arrested Sinclair and several others, held them incommunicado and rushed them from one tiny jail to another to avoid their attorneys and the press. Borough located Sinclair and published the first interview, which broke the case.

In 1934, when Sinclair launched his famed EPIC campaign for governor, Borough edited the **Epic News**, attaining a circulation never before or since achieved by any similar organ.

SERVICE TO L. A.: Between 1936 and 1939, Rube was assoc. secy. of the Municipal League, carrying on his finally successful fight for municipal water and power ownership. (Today Los Angeles gets water and power for approximately half the average cost nationally.) In 1938 he was a founding leader of the successful recall movement against the corrupt Mayor Frank Shaw. Shaw's successor, Bowron, placed Borough on the important Board of Public Works, but within five years Borough resigned "because of the reactionary drift of the Bowron administration."

In another battle in 1934 Borough fought successfully for election to the L. A. superior bench of Judge Ben Lindsey, who had been disbarred in Denver, Colo., for his unorthodox approach to youth problems and the honor system for rehabilitating convicts.

In 1948 Borough was one of the founding delegates to the Philadelphia convention of the Progressive Party. From 1950 to the beginning of 1952, he served as California state chairman. In 1950, as IPP candidate for state treasurer, he won 300,000 votes despite vicious newspaper distortions.

"UP TO THE PEOPLE": Borough has pledged, if elected, to seek repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, the Smith and McCarran acts; demand an immediate end to the Korean war, holler for FEPC, investigate lynchings, move the power of

Uncle Sam into the South to end the terror against Negroes.

When he's asked about his chances, he remains the fighter for principle:

"There were 3,700,000 votes cast in the California U. S. Senatorial election in 1950. I believe there's an excellent chance the people of California may cast from half a million to a million votes for me, even under present conditions. Not enough to win, but what a victory!"

Could he win? "That's up to the people," Rube allows.

THESE ARE RACES TO WATCH FOR

Where to vote for Progressives

THERE will be a line for peace and civil liberties on the ballot in at least 28 states. The PP national ticket is already certified in 27 states, with **Tennessee** listing expected at GUARDIAN's press time. In **Utah** and **Arizona**, where the party filed more than the required signatures on petitions but was banned nevertheless, the issue is before the courts. Ruled off in **Illinois**, the PP called for write-ins.

In several states, local PP candidates were denied the ballot while the national ticket was certified. **Connecticut's** Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson and **Texas'** Stacey Adams were both ruled off within recent weeks. Many states named no local slates but counted on the national candidates to pile up the peace vote.

In key areas where pollsters from Scripps-Howard, Gallup and other straw-watching organizations carefully scanned PP strength compared with '48, local slates are in the field. Here are some of the key local races where a PP or lower-case progressive strength may be registered:

California

IPP's REUBEN BOROUGH opposes the Formosa lobby's Sen. Wm. Knowland, backed by both Republican and Democratic Parties. Borough has won wide backing, including some from ADA, as Knowland's "inevitable alternative." Other IPP candidates:

For Congress: HORACE ALEXANDER, 26 CD, only Negro running for Cong. in Calif.; MRS. ADELAIDA (IDA) ALVAREZ, 18 CD, opposing incumbent, Chet Holifield; MRS. BETSY K. FISHER, 10 CD; LOYD SEELIGER, 17 CD; JOHN ALLEN JOHNSON, 7 CD. For State Assembly, MRS. MARY NATIVIDAD BARNES, 41 AD; RAYMOND COX, 5 AD.

New York

ALP's DR. CORLISS LAMONT, running for the U.S. Senate, has stirred independent support even among "lesser evil" Stevenson campaigners.

HOWARD FAST
For Congress in N. Y.'s 23d CD

ALP has entered candidates in most of the state's districts for Congress, State Senate, Legislature, Supreme Court judgeships. Among ALP standard bearers:

For Congress: CAPT. HUGH MULZAC, 12 CD; ANDRONICUS JACOBS, Negro ex-longshore insurgent leader opposing incumbent Cong. A. Clayton Powell, 16 CD; HOWARD FAST, fighting in 4-way race in district that once elected ALP's Stanley Isaacson, 23 CD; pamphleteer WILLIAM MANDEL opposing incumbent Javits, 21 CD; writer-lecturer ARTHUR KAHN opposing incumbent Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., 20 CD; unionist CLIFFORD T. McAVOY, 12 CD; author and lecturer IRVING YURI SUHL, 19 CD.

For State Senate: incumbent WM. J. BIANCHI, 22nd; CYRIL GRAZE, witch-hunted Teachers Union official, 6th; REV. JOHN J. SASS, 23rd; Puerto Rican leaders JESUS COLON, 8th, and JOSE D'AVILIA SEMPRIT, 25th; ex-CIO official MICHAEL CLUNE, 53rd (Erie). ALP offered no candidate to oppose Julius A. Archibald (D-Lib.) in the 21st, likely to be first Negro State Senator.

For State Assembly: MANUEL MEDINA, 14 AD; SAM JAQUINTO, 16 AD; CARL LAWRENCE, 12 AD; SOL TISCHLER, 4 AD.

Michigan

Gains by anti-Reuther forces in recent CIO United Auto Workers indicate possible shift in labor thinking. PP's state slate includes:

MORTON A. EDEN, labor lawyer for Mich. Supreme Court, running on non-partisan ballot. On PP's ticket, Negro leader MRS. VIRGINIA GLENN for Secy. of State; RICHARD FOX for State Treasurer. For Congress: MARGERET NOWAK, 16 CD; ADAM KUJTKOWSKI, 1 CD; WM. GLENN, 5 CD; DAVID R. LUCE, 2 CD; DWIGHT I. TODD, 18 CD. For State Senate: DORIS LAMPLEY, 21 SD; JOHN SHEPPARD, 12 SD; MARGARET WELLS, 1 SD. For State representatives—Washtenaw Co., J. CECIL RUTHERFORD; Kent Co., DOROTHY SOMPOLINSKY; Wayne Co., ANGELO DEITOS, BENJAMIN KOCEL, MARX COOPER, LEE CAIN, VIRGINIA STORICH, HYMAN BAILL, LASKER SMITH.

New Jersey

For Senator: women's leader, veteran PP campaigner KATHARINE VAN ORDEN.

Massachusetts

For Governor: MRS. FLORENCE H. LUSCOMB.

Montana

For Senate: LAWRENCE L. PRICE; for RR and Public Service Commission: JOHN HELLMAN, PP State Director. For state representatives: HAAKON ISAAKSON, LAWRENCE SONSTELIE.

Washington

For Governor: L. C. HUNTAMER; U.S. Senator, THOMAS C. RABBIT. For Congress: at large MRS. RUBY DAVIS, initiator of Peace Referendum Initiative No. 183; JAMES McDANIEL, 1 CD; ELGAR HOUGHTON, 2 CD; ROBERT DOKTER, 3 CD. For Legislature, MRS. WORTHA CAMPBELL, 33rd; MRS. VINCENT DAVIS, 37th; MRS. FLORENCE MORRISSEY and MRS. BONNIE JEAN PEASE, 38th; DON WINCHESTER, 26th. For State Senate from the 22nd, MRS. VIVIAN GABOURY.

Minnesota

For Senator: MRS. MARIAN LE SUEUR; for Governor: MARTIN FREDERICKSON. Also running for Congress on a peace and civil rights platform are: LORIMER TORGERSON, 9 CD, on Democratic-Farmer-Labor ticket; and JAMES YOUNGDALE, 7 CD, nominated by DFL, then repudiated by the party, admittedly in fear of Nixon's red-baiting, now running as independent.

Pennsylvania

For Congress from the 4th CD: DAVID P. WIDAMEN, only Negro candidate for Congress on any ticket in the state's 30 CDs. For State Legislature: MRS. CATHERINE HANRAHAN.

Wisconsin

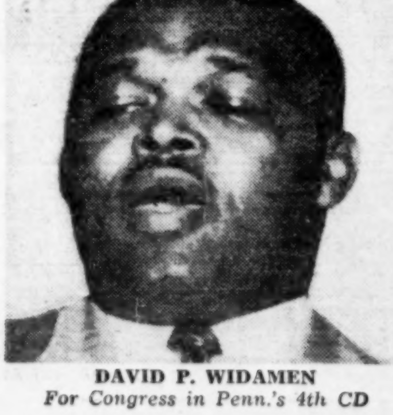
Locally, the PP threw all support behind Democratic candidate THOMAS FAIRCHILD to beat Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

ON THE BALLOT: In addition to states cited above the Hallinan-Bass ticket will be on the ballot in:

Connecticut, Missouri, Oregon, Maryland, Idaho, Texas, Iowa, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Delaware, Vermont, Colorado, North Dakota, New Mexico, Rhode Island and Virginia.

In many cases where the PP is off the ballot, it is plainly due to action by arbitrary electoral boards as in **New Hampshire** where the Secy. of State told the PP's Mrs. Irma Otto that 1,283 signatures were valid (1,000 required), then threw the PP off anyway. Even in ballotless N. H., the campaign was not a defeat. Mrs. Otto wrote:

After all, the PP did contact about 3,000 citizens of N. H. and almost to a man, they were for peace and against the war in Korea—whether they signed for us or not.

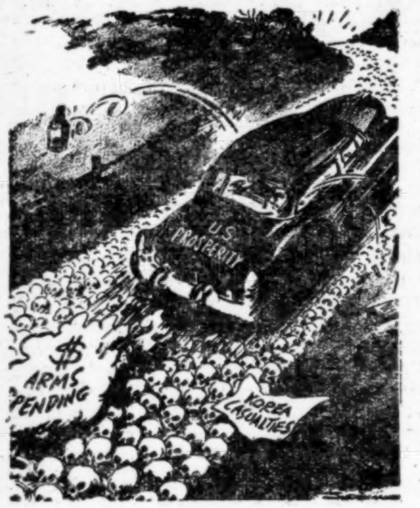


DAVID P. WIDAMEN
For Congress in Penn.'s 4th CD

POLITICS

GOP flirts with 'peace', Stevenson stuck with Truman's war

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, in the third year of the Korean war, last week asked the question that is in the minds of most people: How do we get out of the mess in Korea?



Portland (Me.) Press Herald
EXPENSIVE PAVING

In Hartford, Conn., he interpolated into his prepared text this challenge:

> "Now I wanted to say that he [Eisenhower] stated that he knows a panacea to cure the situation in Korea. He and one of his snollygoster advisers have said that. . . . If he knows a remedy it's his duty to come and tell me what it is and save lives right now."

The question, offered almost as a straight man feeds openings to a star, offered the General his greatest opportunity of the campaign. All polls agreed that any candidate could enter the White House if he reached the majority of the people with the answer they wanted: make peace now; settle all other issues later.

THE PEACE VOTE: Before the President asked the question—till now discreetly avoided in the debate—columnist Joseph Alsop wrote in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** that

> . . . Gen. Eisenhower has been daily besieged by scores of Republican leaders to make a flat, unqualified promise to end the Korean War. This pressure to sacrifice the national interest to political expediency Eisenhower has firmly resisted.

Instead the General has tried (with what success is not known) to capture the peace vote by calling for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from the frontline in Korea, and suggesting that if there had to be a war, then let "Asians fight Asians."

The problem for Ike's advisers was this: to win the Presidency with a promise (however demagogic) that would exhibit to the world the popular U.S. will to peace; or take a chance on holding what his advisers regard as his lead in the race while avoiding even a phony commitment to peace.

For Gov. Stevenson the problem was more difficult. He had no answer to the President's question, could invent none without flying in the face of the Administration's past and present performance. He could only repeat what he had been saying all along:

> "'There is only one answer—we can keep it up as long as we have to and we will" (Chicago). "I do not say to you that tomorrow there will be peace" (Los Angeles).

PROGRESSIVE REPLY: But the President did get some fast answers from the PP's Vincent Hallinan and ALP Chairman Vito Marcantonio. Hallinan's message said in part:

> YOU HAVE IT IN YOUR POWER TO END THE WAR AT ONCE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CHALLENGE YOU TO EXPLAIN YOUR REFUSAL TO DO SO. THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY HAS REPEATEDLY PROPOSED A PLAN TO END THE KILLING. WE SAY: AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AT THE DEMARCATION LINE ALREADY AGREED UPON. SETTLE THE PRISONER OF WAR ISSUE BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THE FIGHTING HAS BEEN STOPPED. AMERICANS ARE DISGUSTED AND ANGERED BY THE EFFORTS OF THE POLITICIANS OF BOTH OLD PARTIES TO MAKE POLITICAL CAPITAL OUT OF THE 121,000 AMERICAN CASUALTIES IN KOREA WHILE NONE OF THEM HAS ANY PROPOSAL TO STOP THE KILLING. IF YOU SERIOUSLY WANT TO SAVE LIVES AND NOT MERELY TO WIN VOTES YOU CAN DO SO BY INSTRUCTING THE AMERICAN NEGOTIATORS IN KOREA TO PROPOSE AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE ON THE BASIS OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S SIMPLE, PRACTICAL AND HONORABLE PLAN. I URGE YOU TO DO SO AT ONCE.

Marcantonio added:

> I SEND YOU THIS TELEGRAM AS THE ONLY MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO SPOKE UP IN OPPOSITION WHEN YOU UNCONSTITUTIONALLY PLUNGED AMERICA INTO WAR. YOU OWE IT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO REPLY TO THIS TELEGRAM.

SOMETHING BORROWED: Some observers felt that Eisenhower's advisers might, in the closing days of the campaign, take up the end-the-war cry and attempt to ride to victory—as Harry Truman did in '48—on a program largely borrowed from the Progressive Party.

The GOP in many areas has already taken over Progressive views. Its Veterans' Division published a pamphlet last week which showed a GI in a Korean foxhole reading a headline in his hometown newspaper: "Democrat Leaders Claim Unparalleled Prosperity." The GI says: "Yeah, we never had it so good."

Eisenhower papers, notably Scripps-Howard and Hearst, have been printing full pages of photos of U.S. dead and wounded in Korea, and publishing casualty figures in giant-size type on page one.

Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) said last week:

> "We believe strongly that the election of Gen. Eisenhower will bring an end to the Korean War without loss of prestige to ourselves and without bowing down to the Kremlin."

SAGGING PLANKS: In Harlem and in other Negro communities the GOP exposed Sparkman's civil rights record. In a full page ad in the Pittsburgh **Courier** the GOP exhibited the Democrats' "White Supremacy" slogan which appears on the Alabama ballot. The ad said: "Jim Crow Sparkman Would Be One Heartbeat From the White House." It warned that with a Democratic victory Sen. Richard B. Russell (Ga.) would be majority floor leader, Sen. Walter George (Ga.) would be president pro tempore of the Senate, over which Sparkman would preside.

The elephant seemed grotesque standing on Progressive planks—in view of Eisenhower's record on segregation in the army, and Nixon's witch-hunting record. In Texas, Joseph Alsop reported, "the Eisenhower leaders are strikingly mum about FEPC." Even as the GOP appealed to low-income voters the weekly newsletter **Banktrends** polled 550 bankers, found them 12 to 1 for Ike.

Both big party candidates last week were dashing cross-country by plane, train and car, but the excitement was not always genuine. The **Wall St. Journal** told how crowds were made:

> To assure Adlai a comparable audience (to Ike's) the Democrats have chartered 60 buses to transport San Franciscans—for free—to the Stevenson rally. And the Democrats say at least 50 busloads will be moved in from all parts of northern California. As an extra attraction, the Stevensonites are importing a galaxy of Hollywood stars for an hour-long show before Adlai starts talking. [In Los Angeles Lauren Bacall rode with Stevenson when he stumped the campuses.] The GOP provided entertainment and organized Ike's turnout too.

HARRY GRINNED: The performance does not always stick to script. While President Truman spoke last week at Brooklyn's Eastern Parkway Roller Skating Rink, an unidentified woman walked down the center aisle shouting that her brother had been killed in Korea. The President stopped speaking while policemen led her out. Some one broke the tension by calling: "We're with you, Harry." The President grinned, said: "I know it," and continued the script.

To all in states where PP is not on ballot

Every vote for Vincent Hallinan for President, and for Mrs. Charlotta Bass for Vice-President, counts for peace and security.

In response to many readers in scattered localities where the PP is not on the ballot, who have asked what they should do to vote for peace, the GUARDIAN recommends:

- Phone your local election board NOW to find out what are the rules about write-in votes. (They vary widely from place to place.) If write-ins are permitted, WRITE IN Hallinan and Bass.
- Go to the polls Nov. 4 armed with full advance information—and be sure of the correct spelling of these names:

VINCENT HALLINAN—for Pres.
CHARLOTTA BASS—for Vice-Pres.

THE LABOR BAZAAR

NEW YORK's Annual Labor Bazaar, traditionally the city's biggest labor event, is scheduled for Dec. 11-14 at St. Nicholas Arena under the auspices of the American Labor Party. Already a warehouse is filling up with merchandise for the booths and counters, while women's committees, labor-industry enterprises and groups of skilled union workers are manufacturing and handcrafting hats, dresses, coats, knitwear, shoes, men's wear, toys and furniture. The picture, right, shows a women's committee at work in an ALP hostess' home. Below, a scene at last year's event, which drew 50,000. The Bazaar Committee provides child care personnel and facilities for shoppers, runs a busy commissary to feed folks who come straight from work. A preview and fashion show is planned for November. Contributions of all kinds are welcome at the Bazaar headquarters, 1 East 4th St., N.Y.C.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Mrs. Bass winding up unique campaign

IN St. Martin's Spiritual Church, Queen City, just outside Dallas, Tex., Mrs. Charlotta Bass, PP vice-presidential candidate, asked:

> "If my people can hope for nothing from the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties, what trust can they put in their candidates?"

From all over the church came shouts of: "None."

Speaking from the pulpit of the Lighted Church of Prayer in Dallas (picked up by a local radio station), Mrs. Bass said:

> "The only people who gain from war are the war profiteers, the generals and the politicians for whom peace is the forgotten issue in this campaign. That is why neither Gov. Stevenson nor Gen. Eisenhower offers any end to the Korean War. That is why they tell us that the fighting—and the dying—and the costly taxes and high prices must go on indefinitely."

In Dallas alone Mrs. Bass spoke in five churches: where the poor pray and in the comparatively well-to-do Mt. Horeb Baptist in South Dallas. In each

CHARLOTTA BASS
The good fight

church she was introduced by the pastor.

SHE "LIVES TO FIGHT": Making few headlines, Mrs. Bass has brought a new kind of campaigning to the PP and the nation. In the home state of the Martinsville Seven she exposed big-party candidates' efforts to woo the Dixiecrats and those who tolerated the judicial lynching. Yet campaigning all across the country, in church and mass meeting, she has spoken broadly of the country's problems: from Taft-Hartley to soil conservation.

There are many arguments made in behalf of Mrs. Bass:

- She is the first Negro woman to run for the Vice-Presidency (one white woman has run for the office); her campaign has a suffragist fervor.
- With a long career behind her in the GOP, she says she lives to fight against what Nixon lives to fight for. She believes that she and the Democrats' Sparkman both fight for what they believe. Sparkman said he was "against the civil rights proposals, always have been and always will be." Mrs. Bass always has been and always will be for civil rights.
- Above all, she is a top-notch campaigner and political leader. She can expose with deadly accuracy the conspiracy of the the "ruling coalition in both old parties that have been making policy and making hay since 1945." She charts the menace to all liberties in the Rosenberg death sentence and lends to her argument a deep, warm, personal sympathy that can make of her the Rosenbergs' greatest champion.

The 62-year old ex-editor has criss-crossed the country four times in this campaign and last week was in the east. Her doctor last week advised her to take it easy; she said calmly that rather than die in bed, she'd live campaigning.

THE LAW

McCarran levels guns at UN staff

SEN. Pat McCarran's big stick last week was still flailing trade unionists, school teachers and educators, the foreign-born, Americans employed by the UN, and many others. (It was revealed that taxpayers were billed $855,800 for the red-hunting of the McCarran committees and that of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the past two years).

The newest attack on the UN brought this N. Y. **Herald Tribune** comment:

> Surely it is no coincidence that Sen. McCarran unfolds his tents and beats his drums at precisely the same time that the UN is opening its highly critical General Assembly session. One wonders, indeed, whether the Senator is more interested in uncovering Communists than in embarrassing the UN. Certainly nothing in his past actions indicates any burning desire to further the work of the international organization, and his present investigation cannot be anything but an encumbrance to its deliberations.

But to the Chicago **Tribune** the new probe was proof that "UN is the enemy within our gates" and should forthwith be kicked out.

LIE AND LOYALTY: In three days of hearings in New York the committee questioned 13 witnesses; 12 declined to answer political questions under protection of the Fifth Amendment. The 13th admitted Communist Party membership for about a year in the mid-Thirties, said "in some respects" she is still sympathetic to the CP program and is "proud" of her PP membership. UN Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie announced that employes found "disloyal" to their own government will be dismissed. He was promptly reminded that he had chosen an opposite course in protecting the jobs of several Czechs who are openly hostile to the Czech government. One witness said:

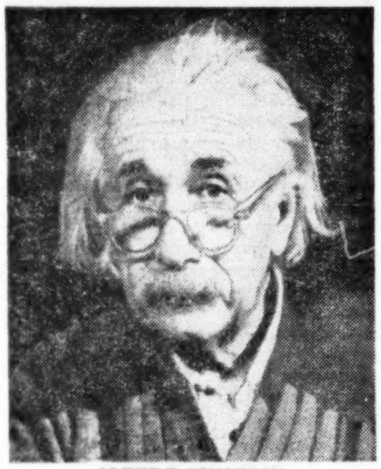
> "If we are to be intimidated by individual governments, the international character of the UN will disappear."

LIE AND STAFF: The hearings touched up a long-standing internal dispute between Lie and UN employes over his claimed authority to hire and fire at his own discretion (or at the twist of an arm from McCarran). One such arbitrary dismissal of a Canadian employe was recently overruled by the UN's administrative tribunal, which found he had been fired for his labor activity; he was awarded $6,990.

Another case is that of Mary Jane Keeney, U. S. citizen, who faces trial for contempt of Congress for an earlier refusal to talk before the McCarran Committee. She specifically refused to say if she had been recommended for her job by anybody in the State Dept.; after consultation with UN authorities, she answered the question in an affidavit. But McCarran, wishing to make it a test case, demanded her indictment anyway. Currently Lie is demanding from the General Assembly blanket authority to hire and fire.

THE SCIENTISTS PROTEST: One of the most devastating attacks on the works of McCarran came last week, in detailed denunciation of the Senator's immigration laws by 34 of the world's leading scientists, in a special issue of the **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.** Five of the critics are Nobel Prize winners, including Albert Einstein and Harold C. Urey. Cited in detail were the cases of 26 renowned foreign scientists denied U. S. visas. The **Bulletin** charged that such restrictions are

> . . . hampering the progress of American science, alienating our allies, comforting our enemies, and traducing the principle of liberty.


ALBERT EINSTEIN
Progress is hampered

The two McCarran acts (Internal Security and Immigration), it said, are based on "fear and hatred of foreigners" and on a "suspicious uneasiness concerning the reliability of the highly educated." The Washington **Post**, commenting on the charges, pointed out:

> It is scarcely possible any longer to hold any international scientific conference in this country.

UNIONS AND TEACHERS: Meanwhile the President's Commission continued its public hearings on the McCarran-Walter immigration act which goes into effect Dec. 24. In Detroit 35 witnesses assailed the measure; in St. Paul, Minn., representatives of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish organizations urged its drastic overhaul; in San Francisco only one witness—a DAR member—endorsed the law; in Chicago 42 of 47 witnesses were critical.

On the trade union front the McCarran committee made public the testi-

(Continued on Page 8)

What goes through the minds of Negroes on election eve?

By Eugene Gordon
Last of three articles

MR. and Mrs. Williams of Harlem's Abraham Lincoln Houses stopped interrupting each other long enough for her to tell me:

> ". . . So when this war in Korea started, some people around here said it was a good thing; said it'd open up prosperity—new jobs and big pay—for us colored. But the people, they're sick and tired of this war—even them that haven't got anybody fighting—because instead of bringing prosperity it brings a 30-cent dollar and bigger taxes. . . ."

Mr. Williams had just come home from two months in the hospital:

> "My rheumatic fever's still holding on, though—will be for some time, I guess. But I just can't afford to be sick."

Yet Eisenhower the other day, Mrs. Williams reminded, "said he didn't want to see any kind of cheap medical plan that would do people like you some good." It sounded as if she were scolding Mr. Williams. He smoothed it over by saying he hadn't decided "which of the two" he'd vote for. She hadn't, either; and, she added, she guessed they'd take another look at both platforms.

SICK OF WAR TAXES: I asked whether they thought this second look would reveal anything better than the first, and gave her a GUARDIAN with Vincent Hallinan's summary of the Progressive Party's platform.

"This is nice," she said, referring to Mrs. Charlotta Bass as Vice-Presidential candidate. Then, forcefully:

> "One thing I do know. Taxes eat up the wages and I'm sick and tired of being taxed to carry on this war."

HYPOCRISY UNLIMITED: We started out, two issues ago, to determine what Negro people were thinking about the election. I have interviewed many families like the Williams'; talked with men and women in stores, workshops, warehouses, union halls and on the street; read Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates'—and their supporters'—speeches; studied voters' reactions thereto and the Negro press. Our findings are that the Negro people are "sick and tired" of:

- Truman trickiness—his statement in Harlem, for instance, that our candidates "have taken their stand firmly on that civil rights platform"; and "you can count on them to fight to carry it out," although every Negro voter knows Sparkman has himself declared: "I am against the civil rights proposals—always have been and always will be."
- Candidates who signed covenants not to sell their houses to Negroes—Republican Richard Nixon as well as Democrat Sparkman.
- Stevenson waving a Confederate flag in New Orleans (see photo, p. 4).
- Eisenhower's secret pact with white-supremacist Gov. Byrnes of S. Carolina.
- Stevenson telling Miamians:

> "In other times and in other countries the blessings nature has heaped upon this state would have been reserved for a few chosen by accident of birth or accumulation of wealth. . . . The rich and powerful partake of your sunshine, but so does the working man who has saved from his wages to take the wife and kids to fabulous Florida. . . ."

Every Negro knows how he, his wife and kids would be received if they walked into any of Miami's "fabulous" hotels and asked for reservations.

- Stevenson's reference to "scandals" in Florida—not referring to the white-supremacy murders of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, but only to

> ". . . a national criminal syndicate and the semi-legitimate operators who cluster around the fringes of the entertainment business."

- Stevenson saying at Nashville:

> "I stand on the platform of the Democratic Party—which means that on the question of minority rights a great many of you probably disagree with me. . . ."

In the same city at the same time "a little boy was refused a ride in the Kiddyland section of the State Fair," according to a letter from Nashville to the Pittsburgh **Courier**, "because his skin was black."

CAPETOWN DIXIE: Stevenson probably heard nothing about that incident, the fair-minded Negro voter might concede; but this same voter agrees with Stevenson's declaration to his white Nashville audience that "I refuse to believe there is any conflict between my viewpoint and yours" on the Negro question.

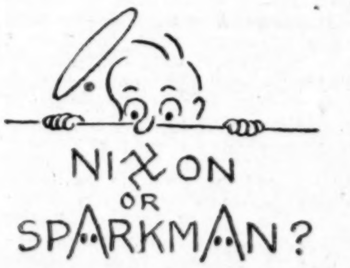
"Stevenson said anything yet about what's happening to our folks over in South Africa?" an old fellow at a Lenox Av. newsstand asked me.

The newsstand dealer cut in that neither had Truman condemned the S. African government for its brutal treatment of the native peoples. The old fellow said:

> "Y'aint hurting my feelings by jumping on Truman. I don't want no part of neither one of 'em. How can Truman tell old Doc Malan in South Africa to let up and go easy on the blacks when he don't do it to the Governor of Mississippi?"

WHAT THEY WANT: That question probably summarizes what runs through millions of Negroes' minds. Here are the Negro people's profound desires in this election:

- A chance to work at any job which is available to a white person.
- Civil liberties in the broadest sense.



- Abolition of segregation and discrimination in all walks of life.
- Full citizenship rights NOW—not "later" and not "gradually."
- An end to the war and a reduction of taxes.

"IF A 3d PARTY EXISTED": Of persons polled by the **Courier** 35% believed there was a chance **now** for a third party. Most votes came from industrial centers. One writer expressed the views of a majority of the persons in the GUARDIAN canvass:

> I don't believe there will ever be a strong third party, but I believe if one did exist it would give a lot of disgusted voters a place to go. And it will force the Democrats and Republicans to live up to their promises.

The Progressive Party has shown both Republicans and Democrats to be insincere and dishonest in their pledges to the Negro people. It has proved that both parties are for war abroad and repression at home. The important job now is to show the Negro people, most of whom "want a place to go," that it is a second rather than a third party they seek and that this party is already here.

The PP has done fairly well within the limits of its scanty resources. It still has time to do better.

(Continued from Page 7)

mony taken during four days of hearings earlier this year on the United Electrical Workers Union in the Cleveland area. The report named nine leaders and members as Communists.

The McCarran attack on teachers continued in New York with two more threatened with firing for invoking the fifth amendment (six have already been dismissed). Three additional city college professors were dismissed and two Rutgers professors were threatened with firing.

Dr. Edwin Berry Burgum, assoc. professor of English at New York University, a private institution, and chairman of the N. Y. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, was suspended He is one of the most popular teachers at NYU. There will be a reception for him at New York's Park Central Hotel, Sunday, Oct. 26 at 4 p.m.

POLITICAL VERDICT: McCarran's Subversive Activities Control Board, which held 14-month-long hearings on whether the CP should register as a foreign agent under the McCarran law, last week was charged with delaying announcement of its decision for political reasons. Former Congressman Vito Marcantonio, who represented the CP in the hearings, said the board's ruling that the party must register had been ready since early September, but that the board had

> . . . been holding it until it could be put to maximum political use in the Presidential campaign. A ruling that the Justice Dept. is correct in calling the Communist Party foreign-dominated and that Communists must register under the McCarran Act would be used by the Democrats as evidence that they are better red-hunters than McCarthy and the Republicans.

Last Monday, completely confirming Marcantonio's charge, the board turned in its finding: it said the Communist Party was a "puppet of Moscow," indicated it would insist that the CP and its members register as foreign agents, turn in a financial report.

PHILA. FOLLOWS L. A.: Overshadowed by McCarran's many-pronged activities, the House Committee on Un-American Activities set up shop in Philadelphia where it was met with picket signs: UN-AMERICANS, GO HOME!

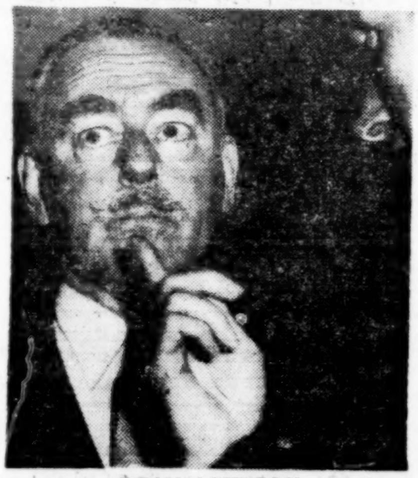
It's star witness, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, failed to produce sensational headlines when he testified that he has found no reds in his organization here and that suspected reds abroad involve no U. S. citizens. He had high praise for Harry Truman as a red-hunter. Most other witnesses were trade unionists.

Earlier the committee had suffered the stormiest five days in its history. Scheduled for a 12-day run in Los Angeles, it packed up and left after hearing only 64 of 125 witnesses subpenaed. Of the 64 heard, only three were friendly. The others—including 22 doctors and 25 attorneys—defied the committee and castigated it in such terms that at least one member left the hearing room in helpless rage.

WAR & PEACE

UN allies press U. S. to soften new 'get tough' policy

WITH Canada's Lester Pearson as president, and four Asian-Arab bloc members (Egypt, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand) elected to the 15-seat steering committee, UN opened its seventh General Assembly in New York. Korea was clearly the crucial issue facing it; the **Wall St. Journal** (10/13) detailed a three-stage "'get a little tougher gradually' plan" on which Washington has "decided," beginning with the breaking-off of truce talks and requiring greater allied help in economic blockade of China.



DEAN ACHESON
The tone was milder

Growing popular pressure in all Western countries to end the war—now continuing on the sole issue of return of prisoners—made the issue a delicate one. Secy. Gen. Lie, presumably to help out Washington in the election period, wanted Korea placed third on the agenda; Soviet delegate Gromyko suggested it be first.

WASHINGTON LINE: Originally scheduled to speak first, Secy. Acheson was the eighth speaker in the general debate. The delay was reportedly due to pressure from Western allies to tone down the "'tough" speech he had prepared. His mildly-phrased speech seemed more a plea to the allies to close ranks than a clear declaration of U. S. policy; but it did indicate Washington attitudes toward major issues facing the Assembly. Some of his points:

- **KOREA:** The U. S. "will fight on as long as is necessary," which means for the allies "training and commitment of troops . . . food, clothing, material, money."
- **COLONIAL FREEDOM:** He stressed "the deep economic interdependence between" imperialist powers and their colonies; opposed solutions "made on the basis of theoretical absolutes," favored those "worked out by the parties directly concerned" (i.e., between countries occupied by force and their occupiers).
- **RACE DISCRIMINATION** (in S. Africa, etc.): "In our closets each of us can find the skeletons of racial, religious or class discrimination"; there should be concentration "upon doing those things which are in the realm of practical statesmanship."
- **DEVELOPMENT OF UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES:** Acheson made no mention of the UN fund for aid without strings (which UN's Economic and Social Council overwhelmingly supported but the U. S. strongly opposed); he offered the solution of greater investment by private capital.

MOSCOW LINE: While Acheson mixed lip-service to UN's usefulness with an attempt to limit the scope of its discussion of crucial issues, the McCarran inquisition into "communist activities in UN" proceeded a couple of miles away, and "U. S. military men" (**U. S. News**, 10/17) were

> . . . trying to sell politicians on the idea that . . . NATO . . . should gradually be turned into a substitute for the UN.

In a 1¼-hour long speech Saturday outlining Soviet views on world problems, Foreign Minister Vishinsky told the Assembly peace was "the core" of them all; backed a proposal by Polish Foreign Minister Skrzyszewski for cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, with POW repatriation "in accordance with established international stipulations"; challenged Acheson to define the "fair and just terms" under which he said the U. S. would agree to an armistice. Charging U. S. big business with continuing and promoting war so that it could "rake in millions of blood-spattered dollars," he pointed out that even Eisenhower was saying U. S. economy "is a war economy, [its] prosperity a war prosperity."

DEATH MARCHES ON: The fighting in Korea and destruction behind the front grew in intensity. As the **N. Y. Times** (10/17) reported a "record week for the war for the number of individual missions flown by Fifth Air Force planes—a total of 7,720," Marine Corps commandant Gen. Lemuel Shepherd called "Operation Strangle"—meant to cripple North Korean supply lines by unlimited bombing—a "fizzle."

North Korean-Chinese leaders continued to press for resumption of truce talks. New cases of violence against Koje Island POW's were reported almost daily (**Hsinhua**, 10/11, 10/13; **UP**, 10/13; **AP**, 10/13, 10/15). **Hsinhua** also reported (10/7) that U. S. aircraft had violated the truce-talk site 11 times in August.

Hot and cold wars

SOVIET UNION: Washington demanded indemnity from Moscow for the B-29 and its crew of eight lost after a tangle with Soviet planes north of Japan (GUARDIAN, 10/16). The demand said that the plane did not fly over Yuri in the Soviet-held Kurile Islands as Moscow alleged, but that in any case Yuri is not in the Kuriles but the Japanese Habomais. The N. Y. **Times** was confused; it found no Yuri in the Habomais but did find it in the Kuriles as shown in a U. S. Army map.

The Yuri "incident" was one of eight similar occurrences since April, 1950, in which Soviet fighters had tangled with U. S., French or Swedish planes in Soviet border areas east and west. Summing up the "incidents," **NYT** military analyst Baldwin wrote (10/19):

> The Iron Curtain around Russia's vast frontiers has been strengthened greatly in the past two years by radar, jet fighters and other measures. This is one of several conclusions drawn by European observers this week. . . .

JAPAN: Tokyo was reported preparing a "stiff demand" on S. Korea for "clarification" of the conflict over Japanese fishing rights near Korea. For the first time since the war Japanese troops marched through Tokyo streets—4,000 men carrying U. S. weapons. But an **NYT Tokyo** report (10/12) said Japanese army recruiting was

> . . . lagging miserably — partly because young women are refusing to be friendly with the soldiers and are pledging never to marry them.

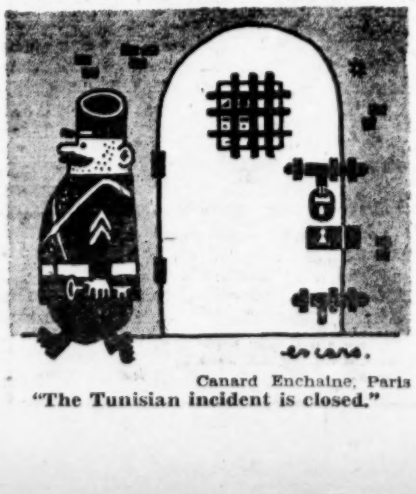
IRAN: Premier Mossadegh, after arresting four men—one a retired general—accused of a "British-inspired plot" to overthrow him, announced breaking of relations with Britain because of its attitude toward an oil settlement.

FRANCE: The Pinay government grew shakier as the Radical Party in an unanimous resolution accepted the reservations expressed by three former Premiers—Herriot, Daladier and Faure—concerning the NATO treaty. Shortly to be presented to parliament, the treaty must be ratified as it stands or go back to be negotiated all over again. Major source of the mounting French opposition concerns the Indo-China war: as long as France is bogged down there it fears German domination of a European Army. France's fall campaign against the Vietminh army began disastrously last week when the Vietminh captured an important French stronghold near Hanoi.

While France sought more U. S. military aid in Indo-China, its resentment at possible "interference" in its N. African colonies reached a climax when Gen. Juin, Allied land commander in Central Europe, told a Madrid reporter he favored French withdrawal from UN if it took any action in the Morocco and Tunisia crises.

GERMANY: The Fedn. of Trade Unions discarded its former chief, Christian Fette, whose pro-Western position caused mass rank-and-file demonstrations last year, and elected Walter Freitag, whose opposition to W. German rearmament parallels that of the late Socialist leader Schumacher.

W. German Social Democratic leader Ollenhauer accused U. S. authorities of paying $7,000 a month to a splinter group, some of whose members had been ordered to infiltrate the Social Democratic Party.



Canard Enchaîné, Paris
"The Tunisian incident is closed."

BRITAIN: **NYT** correspondent Hoffman saw a "U. S.-British crisis on trade in the offing" as Britain moved for more Commonwealth preference tariffs. At a dinner of the Anglo-U. S. friendship society The Pilgrims, when Gen. Ridgway deplored the inadequacy of W. European rearming, Premier Churchill doubted that war was near.

WSJ London correspondent Jeffcoat (10/15) reported that Britain was convinced Europe's economy could not stand the strain of war in Malaya and Indo-China and simultaneous increase in armed strength in Europe; that war with the U. S. S. R. was not near and, as Churchill said, "on the whole the danger of a world war has receded"; and that not only present but 1953-54 NATO targets would remain unfulfilled. Britain would therefore press NATO—despite U. S. opposition—to recast drastically its rearmament program in favor of atomic and other super-weapons; and this, Jeffcoat wrote,

> . . . is likely to set off a stormy debate inside the Atlantic alliance—perhaps the most important debate on military policy since the war.

Trybuna Ludu, Warsaw

S. AFRICA: As UN discussion of Premier Malan's intensified jimcrow drew near (the Assembly defeated 46-6 S. Africa's attempt to bar debate on it), S. Africa gave notice it would ignore any decision UN might take. Its jails were so jammed with resisters to jimcrow laws that a Mafeking magistrate, after convicting 20 Africans, freed them because the jail would not hold them. In Port Elizabeth at least 11 persons were killed in a night-long battle between Africans and police. Malan's government banned over 70 publications as "indecent, objectionable or obscene," including the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Malenkov sees West cutting own throat

AS the 19th Congress of the U. S. S. R. Communist Party closed in Moscow, U. S. headline-writers summed up Premier Stalin's speech as calling for "a new line—boring from within." Businessmen studied more attentively the new definition of the Soviet attitude toward East-West trade in the report to the congress by G. M. Malenkov, who identified as "the most important economic outcome of World War II"

> ". . . the disintegration of the single all-embracing world market and the emergence of two parallel worlds markets. . . . [U. S. economic difficulties are] all traceable to the fact that America's industry has been deprived of such markets as the U. S. S. R., China and the European people's democracies, and for this the U. S. ruling circles are to blame."

"Restoration of the single international market" was part of the program for peace advanced by Malenkov. The Western blockade, he said, has not worked out as intended. Instead of "strangling" the socialist world, it has had the effect of

> ". . . strengthening the new democratic

(Continued on Page 10)

PEACE CONFERENCE IN PEKING

When the Americans and the Koreans embraced...

By Israel Epstein

PEKING, CHINA

AS the Korean and U.S. delegations to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference came toward each other on the flag-decked rostrum, the air in the hall was electric. Representatives of the great trans-oceanic power which has utterly destroyed Korea, and of the small people whose courage has proved indestructible, were to make their first public handshake.

Hands reached out—and then Korean and American wives and mothers embraced, Korean and American men stood locked in each other's arms—shaken by emotion that was a pledge to make a world where all men will at last be brothers.

INDIANS & PAKISTANIS: Such scenes have made this assembly a historic one. One of the high points was the ceremonial signing on Oct. 2—Gandhi's birthday—of a joint declaration on the threatening Kashmir question by Pakistani and Indian delegations (the latter including Saifuddin Kitchlew, past pres. of India's Congress Party). They declared that "all issues between India and Pakistan without exception can be settled by peaceful means," and that the present tension, militarizing and impoverishing both countries, merely makes them a prey to imperialist demands for bases and cannon-fodder. They advocated free choice for Kashmiris, increased economic and cultural contact and a meeting of Indian and Pakistani peace representatives. In the midst of a ten-minute ovation, one U.S. delegate remarked:

> "This kind of thing is what we all hoped for but never got from the UN."

ALGERIANS, VIETNAMESE: A big Algerian clasped and kissed a slim Vietnamese whose face was a disfigured mass and whose hands lacked all fingers as a result of wounds in the fight for national freedom. The Algerian told the assembly that the French were no longer able to use awakened North Africans to keep the Vietnamese under the same yoke they themselves were fighting to throw off.

The great, simple meaning of the conference was that colonial peoples can no longer be sent to kill one another: the ancient imperialist principle of divide and rule no longer works. As this made its impact on delegates, they began to realize why the conference has caused such hysteria in Wall St.'s "free world."

EAST MEETS WEST: The fear is not of some violent conspiracy with which arms might conceivably cope, but of men's determination to have peace—which no arms can destroy. Far Easterners, Near Easterners and Latin Americans who met here—members of nations so long deprived of their own resources for others' profit—declared that not world war but world peace and solidarity of peoples is the best condition for their own emergence to freedom. As Africa's Gabriel d'Arboussier said from the rostrum, in the homely simile of his own folk:

> "You cannot teach a frog to swim by throwing him in boiling water."

An American delegate told how part of his delegation's travel expenses was defrayed by a Korea veteran's donation of his overseas pay. A British fraternal representative told how not a single veteran of Malaya could be induced by the army to make recruiting speeches after returning home. A Turk and a Colombian told how Korean veterans in both their countries are the backbone of peace sentiment; peasants conscripted for Korea desert en masse and become guerrillas in the hills.

SAY "AH"

Chi Chien-hua, a Chinese soldier, teaches his comrades the phonetic symbols, first step in the new method of mastering Chinese characters. "Y" pronounced "Ah."

Joan Hinton, American now living in Mongolia (GUARDIAN, 10/24/51), who was present as an observer, apologized to the Japanese people for the atomic destruction on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Speaking as "a scientist who worked at the Los Alamos project and who touched with my own hands the very bomb which dropped on Nagasaki," she appealed to the scientists of Japan to refuse to work on weapons of mass slaughter.

THE BALANCE CHANGES: A Canadian delegate reported on new prospects for peaceful East-West trade. Delegates from Ceylon, which just negotiated an agreement to exchange rubber for Chinese rice despite State Dept. threats to halt Point Four and other aid, said with calm assurance that small countries now have a choice because all the strength does not lie in Washington.

Two of the most striking speeches were made by Australian housewife Mrs. Nancy Lapwood, who spoke as a Christian "believer in the principles of the Prince of Peace," and a Costa Rican Catholic who reminded the audience that even Pope Leo XIII had been denounced as a communist when he spoke for the common people.

The congress was remarkable for the way in which it joined the various interests devoted to peace: businessmen seeking trade, workers seeking jobs, pacifists, religious people, militant fighters for national independence.

Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet said:

> "All of you are sitting together in friendship, and speaking in different languages about one thing — how to fight shoulder to shoulder so as to live in peace and freedom, and so as neither to kill nor be killed. This hall stands before my eyes as a garden of peace and friendship in which different flowers of many colors bloom together. The whole earth can be turned into such a garden—and it will be!"

MESSAGE TO AMERICA: On the last day, Oct. 12, hundreds of fresh-faced Peking school kids thronged into the hall with bouquets for the delegates who hoisted the children onto the desks. This was the cheering, singing finale for the delegates who had worked 12 hours a day for ten days hammering out a realistic program for the widest kind of support, and setting up machinery to implement it.

An Appeal to the Peoples of the World, issued by the conference, said:

> In the struggle for the defense of peace in Asia, the Pacific regions and throughout the world, the people of the U.S. bear a special responsibility. Acts of war and preparations for war . . . though committed in their name . . . do not serve their will or interests. Hence it is their urgent need and solemn obligation to put an end to these acts of their government and lead their country along the path of peace. . . . In this noble task we offer them the hand of friendship.

Peking Conference resolutions

KOREA: The conference saw this as the chief danger threatening an Asia-wide war; demanded immediate cease-fire, full POW repatriation in accordance with the Geneva convention, withdrawal of all foreign troops, including Chinese.

• N. Korean delegate Han Su Lya reported his government at the truce talks had proposed that N. or S. Korean prisoners could return to their homes regardless which army they served in. All 37 delegations agreed the U.S. was responsible for breakdown of negotiations.

Chinese paper cut

• The U.S. was called upon to halt mass bombings, napalm raids and germ warfare (which the delegates, convinced by exhibits shown them, unanimously voted to include).

JAPAN: Seeing Japan's remilitarization as an "American base" and reinstatement of war criminals as the chief longer-range danger of war in the Pacific, the conference called for an over-all peace treaty under the terms of Potsdam to replace the San Francisco treaty; withdrawal of all foreign troops; full sovereignty for a democratic Japan with the right to armed forces adequate for her self-defense; assurance of unobstructed trade with all countries.

VIETNAM, MALAYA: Demanding an end to these wars and removal of foreign troops, the conference called for respect for every country's right to develop its own resources, a ban on all incitement to race discrimination.

ECONOMY: In a resolution citing the need for peace and national independence to create prosperity for all peoples, the U.S. was indicted for a "war policy which gives rise to heavy war expenditures, monopolization of raw materials, blockades, embargoes and other artificial barriers to trade which . . . have aggravated the unbalanced character of other nations' economies."

The resolution called on UN to remove such barriers which violate the Charter, and projected new trade agreements, international industrial and farm exhibits with the help of a new group set up by the conference, to work with the world trade promotion committee set up at the Moscow Trade Conference.

PEACE LIAISON COMMITTEE: These were elected vice-chairmen of a new regional committee set up with Mme. Sun Yat-sen as chairman, Peking as headquarters: Saifuddin Kitchlew (India), Rev. Wm. Endicott (Canada), Paul Robeson (U.S.), Nazim Hikmet (Turkey), Pablo Neruda (Latin America), Kuo Mo-jo (China) and reps. of U.S.S.R., Japan, Korea, Australia and Pakistan.

•

Korea: 28 months of war; 16 months of truce talks

U.S. Forces	Casualties	Dead
Reported as of July 11, 1951 (truce talks began)	70,626	13,176
Reported last week (as of Oct. 10)	121,154	21,233
Increase since talks began	42,528	8,057
Increase during last week's talks	885	171

Writer calls Russian hats 'unspeakable'

NAOMI MITCHISON, popular British authoress, daughter of world-famous scientist John Scott Haldane and wife of Labour MP G. R. Mitchison, visited the Soviet Union this summer. The Fabian-type British Socialist circles in which she has long been prominent were startled by her impressions as published in London's Sunday Pictorial (8/3) and Peace News

(8/15). These were some of them, gleaned largely from "talks with men, women and children—I know very little Russian [but] English is the first language taught in schools":

• **WAR OR PEACE:** "It doesn't begin to make sense for the Russians to want war. They are too prosperous for that; they are working on enormous schemes which will make them still more prosperous. They don't have to take land from anyone else. . . . [But] while no Russians want war, they are prepared to defend Communism. . . ."

• **LIVING STANDARDS:** "Their urban standard is in most things much higher than ours; rural standard about up to that in Central France but higher than in Italy."

• **SECURITY:** "People have big families because they aren't worried about what's going to happen to their children. They know that if they have any capacities, either with their hands or their brains, these will be spotted and brought out; the ladder is wide open—everyone goes up it."

• **HOUSING:** "[The Russian] sees new blocks of flats going up all round him, no bottleneck of scarce material or shortage of labor. . . . [New flats] all have bathrooms and modern kitchens, but living space is small. On the other hand, you only pay from 3 to 5% of your income in rent."

• **FREEDOMS:** "They feel they have the essential kinds, and rather pity us for not having their kind. They think it is real freedom when the workers in a factory can sack the manager if he doesn't pay enough attention to what the trade union representatives tell him . . . when anyone who qualifies can go to a university . . . [and] for mothers to be able to send their children to creches, kindergartens, holiday camps in lovely, unspoiled, flowery country."

• **POLITICAL DEMOCRACY:** "When we say there is no freedom if you can't vote for an opposition party, they just don't see it. Why should they want another party when the one that's in has done so much for them?"

• **WESTERN DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS:** "They think we are a little odd, but they quite agree that we must be left alone to run things our own way."

Mrs. Mitchison ended by posing to herself the expected question: "Surely there is something really dreadful about life in Russia?" She answered:

> "Yes, the hats. The hats are quite unspeakable. But hats aren't enough to have war about, are they?"

•

DO YOUR XMAS SHOPPING THRU THE GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
See Page 11

(Continued from Page 8)

world market. The imperialists have thereby delivered a telling blow to their own export trade and have aggravated still more the contradiction between the production potential of their industry and possibilities for sale of its products."

BAD BUSINESS: Businessmen wondered if these developments last week, affecting capitalist countries' foreign trade, were some of the "telling blows":

• The U.S.S.R. cut its agreement for annual shipment of coarse grains to Britain from 1,000,000 to 200,000 tons. This evidently took London by surprise: it was expecting to sign a contract for a further million tons (L.I. **Star-Journal, 10/13**).

The Soviets, who have been expanding shipments to hungry Britain despite British curtailments of the range of goods sent in return, were hitting back at the U.S. Battle Act under which (N.Y. **Times**, 10/14)

> . . . Brtiain had to prohibit the sale to Russia of heavy equipment, most machinery and machine tools and strategic materials.

NYT London correspondent Raymond Daniell wrote that in consequence

> . . . it is probable that British agricultural expansion will have to be held up, while the farmers are subject to Left Wing propaganda that it is all the fault of U.S. capitalists and imperialists.

• In a newly-issued report seeking to justify U.S. trade restrictions, Mutual Security Director Harriman admitted U.S. blocking of Japan-China trade

> . . . has created serious problems for the heavily industrialized Japanese economy, which has to seek other sources for products such as iron ore, soybeans and other basic commodities.

The report added that limiting of rubber exports to the U.S.S.R. and China has cut wages in Malaya and

> . . . a drop in the standard of living could encourage the rebels and endanger the security of the country.

• The U.S. Commerce Dept. said August exports remained for the second consecutive month 20% below the average level for the first half of 1952; 15% of total exports were munitions. Total exports are now about 22% below—nonmilitary exports, 35% below—the peak post-war year 1947. The picture was darkened by European manufacturers, cut off from eastern markets,

> . . . nibbling away at many U.S. markets in Latin America [with] Germany . . . a leading contender (Journal of Commerce, 10/16).

ATOMIC PROGRESS: Meanwhile the Atomic Energy Comm. was able to announce rapid advances. Arrangements were made with 15 private power companies to join in the Ohio Valley Electric Corp. to construct two huge steam-generating plants with 2,200,000 kw. potential to supply the new Pike Co., Ohio, A-bomb plant. The AEC also arranged with five companies joining in Electric Energy, Inc., and with TVA to expand power production for extension of the Paducah, Ky., A-bomb plant. The 1,940,000 kw. this expansion will make available to the Paducah plant would normally produce 9,700,000,000 kw.-hours of electricity per year—2¼ times the total electricity sales to all Kentucky customers in 1951.

Patterson in California

William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, will speak on "The Battle for American Democracy" in an important series of meetings in the San Francisco area (Vallejo, Oct. 27; Richmond, Oct. 28; Oakland, Oct. 29; Stockton, Nov. 2; details from East Bay CRC, 700 21st St., Oakland). Local churchmen on the distinguished sponsor list of the meetings include Revs. C. E. Henderson, H. James, H. T. S. Johnson, J. L. Johnson, G. K. Killens, Lloyd McCreary, A. E. Williams, G. J. Williams.

CALENDAR

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Los Angeles

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Baltimore, Md.

HEAR VINCENT HALLINAN AND MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS. Gillis Memorial Church, Mulberry & Calhoun Sts., Fri., Oct. 24, 8:15 p.m. Admission: 35c; unemployed free.

Chicago

NORTH SIDERS ATTENTION! Community farewell party for the Mandels on Sat., Oct. 18, 8:30 p.m., at the Nemkov home, 3034 Eastwood Ave. (INdependence 3-8527). Guest speaker recently returned from Israel. Sponsor: 40th Ward Prog. Party. Donation: $1.50, includes midnight supper.

NEW YORK

HALLOWE'EN FOR HALLINAN. All the kids are bringing their moms and dads, Sat., Oct. 25, 2 p.m., 3230 Bainbridge Av., Bronx. Guest of honor: Butch Hallinan. Adm: 50c.

TESTIMONIAL PARTY FOR SOL TISCHLER, candidate for 4th Assembly District. COME AND MEET YOUR OLD FRIENDS AND MAKE NEW ONES. Entertainment: Peoples Artists, others. Sat., Oct. 25, 8:30 p.m., IWO Hall, 88 Clinton St., near Delancey St. (2nd floor). Donation: $1.

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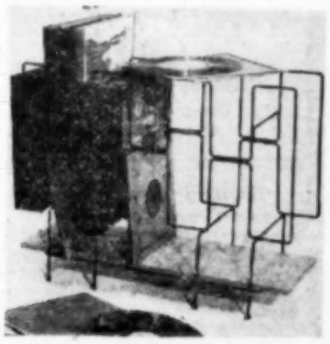

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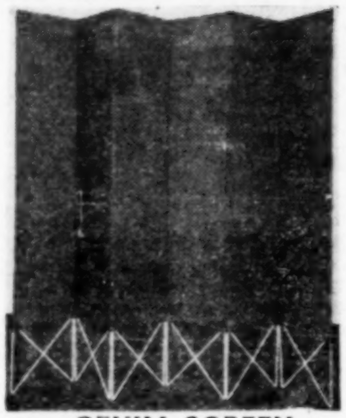

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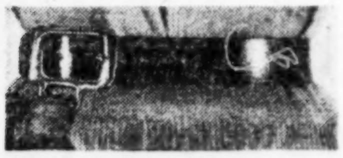

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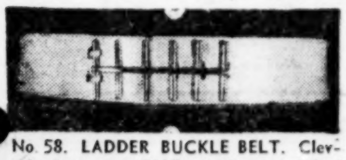

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FREEDOMS

Lawyers Guild offers a Bill of Rights

CONSTITUTIONAL amendments are meaningless unless enforced. For three days over the Columbus Day week-end 300 attorneys, law students and members of law school faculties, under the auspices of the Natl. Lawyers Guild, met to consider the lack of enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments guaranteeing full rights to the Negro people, and adopted a comprehensive 21-page draft civil rights bill to be presented at the first session of the next Congress.

Guild president Earl B. Dickerson, noted Negro attorney, pointed out that the bulk of federal enforcement legislation adopted by Congress between 1877 and 1899 has been repealed, and told the delegates:

EARL B. DICKERSON

"The white supremacy theory has taken the place of the slave masters. Hunger has taken the place of the slave master's whip."

STARVING JUSTICE: Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School called the Civil Rights Section of the Dept. of Justice—consisting of only seven lawyers—wholly inadequate. He said it is lacking in funds and in top government officials. He revealed that it receives between 1,500 and 2,500 complaints each year, but investigates an average of only 100 and prosecutes no more than 20.

He stressed that the FBI, upon which the section is dependent for research and investigation, maintains friendly relations with local police departments which are often the subject of complaints.

Attorney Bella Abzug told a special panel on discrimination against Negroes in the legal profession that of 200,000 practising lawyers in the U.S., fewer than 2,000 are Negroes, of 42,685 law students now studying, only 1,000 are Negroes. She revealed that only six Negro attorneys are employed by the Dept. of Justice out of a total of 1,600. There is only one Negro among the country's 225 federal district judges. She also reported that there are only five Negro lawyers in Alabama, 14 in Louisiana, 18 in Georgia, and 19 in Florida.

REAL BILL OF RIGHTS: The Civil Rights Bill to be presented to Congress would set up a five-member federal Commission on Civil Rights and provide stiff penalties for any discrimination against Negroes in housing, education and transportation. It would protect their right to vote, would outlaw lynching and includes a comprehensive f[illegible] employment practices section to be enforced by a special five-member commission.

The final session of the conference adopted resolutions calling for the creation of a Natl. Civil Rights Defense Panel to provide adequate counsel to Negroes prosecuted because of their color, condemning discrimination against Negro attorneys by bar associations and public officials, and calling for imposition of penalties against cities and counties where lynchings occur.

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